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A TREATISE ON  
RECREATION  
AND PLEASURE  
AND FOR ALL

BY  
J. H. H. H. H.

THE  
H. H. H.



A TREATISE OF  
**REFORMATION**

WITHOUT TARYING FOR ANIE:

BY  
**ROBERT BROWNE**

[PRINTED AT MIDDELBURGH, 1582]

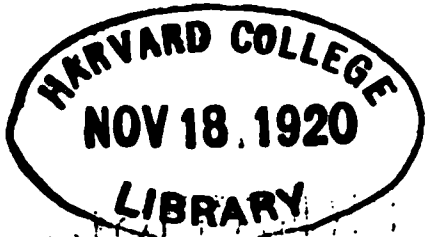
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TOLETORPE HALL, DR. STAMFORD: BIRTHPLACE OF ROBERT BROWNE.



## INTRODUCTION

THE tract now first presented to the public in an English edition is that most popularly associated with the name of Robert Browne. It does not, as is commonly supposed, enunciate the theory of Congregational Independency ; but it affirms a higher and more comprehensive principle, that of the mutual independence of Church and State. The original edition, printed in Holland in 1582, is extremely rare ; only three copies being known. A few years ago it was published in a cheap form in America, from an original at Yale College ; and the present edition is from the American reprint, carefully collated with an original in the British Museum. It seems desirable to prefix a short biographical notice of the author ; who, besides being loaded with obloquy by opponents, has had the strange fortune of being repudiated by many of his most consistent disciples. ✓

The family of Browne was for many generations among the most prominent in the town of Stamford, whither their ancestor came from Calais about the middle of the fourteenth century. Several of them held the chief magistracy of the borough ; one of them founded a hospital—still existing—for decayed tradesmen ; another built the church of All Saints ; and two served as sheriffs for the county of Rutland. The second of these, Francis Browne, had a brother Edmund, who married Joan Cecil, aunt of William Cecil, Lord Burghley ; and *each* of the brothers had a son Anthony, a fact which has led to some genealogical confusion. Anthony, the son of Francis, had seven children ; of whom the third, Robert, was born at Tolethorpe, about two miles from Stamford, at some uncertain date between 1550 and 1556. Of his childhood and early education nothing is known, but in 1570 we find him at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. There is no record of his matriculation ; and he may have removed from some other college to Corpus when the Puritan Thomas Aldrich was elected Master. He graduated B.A. in 1572, being placed 18th in the list. Strype affirms that in 1571 he was domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk ; and that, being cited before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for some offensive speech, he was supported by the Duke in disregarding the citation, on the ground that the occasion was privileged. But the story is unlikely ; Browne's age at the time cannot have exceeded 21, and may have been only 18. Probably the Brown of Strype's narrative was a Shropshire man, who was soon afterwards implicated in the Ridolfi conspiracy. After

leaving Cambridge Browne was occupied for about three years in teaching children ; first in a public school, and, after being dismissed from that post, for some time privately. Strange to say, neither by himself nor by any reliable authority is the place of his tutorial labour indicated ; but, according to general tradition, it was Southwark. During this time he is said to have lectured in Islington, presumably to an irregular assemblage ; this, however, is very uncertain. An outbreak of the plague induced him to give up his school ; and he returned to his father's house, probably in the autumn of 1578. He then went back to the University ; and resided for a while with the family of Rev Richard Greenham, of Dry Drayton, near Cambridge, who encouraged him to preach in the village, though without episcopal authorisation. He also preached in Cambridge for about half a year ; but by this time had become convinced that prelatic ordination and license were objectionable, if not actually sinful. He therefore declined a proposal that he should accept a regular pastorate in Cambridge, returned the money that was offered him by way of stipend, and destroyed the bishop's license which had been procured for him. He then began to speak openly against calling and licensing of preachers by bishops, and against the whole parochial system. He was thereupon inhibited by the bishop, and, falling sick, ceased his ministrations in Cambridge ; declaring however that, but for his infirmity, he would have wholly disregarded the bishop's inhibition.

On the recovery of his health Browne removed to Norwich ; residing with Robert Harrison, master of a hospital in that city, with whom he had formerly been acquainted in Cambridge. These, and a few others likeminded, constituted themselves into a religious fellowship in which they endeavoured to realise their ideal of an Apostolic Church. This was in 1580. Former societies of Lollards, Baptists, and others, had no doubt been *practically Congregational*, and entertained opinions of which Congregationalism was the logical issue ; especially was this the case with the Separatists of 1568-70, who formed a church in Bridewell prison, with Richard Fitz as pastor, and Thomas Rowland as deacon. But this Norwich fellowship was *Congregationalist in principle*, and thus the first really Congregational church known to history. Browne, and probably others of the fellowship, preached and taught not only in the city, but in several parts of the diocese, especially at Bury St. Edmund's ; and their views found considerable acceptance. Persecution followed as a matter of course, and Browne was more than once imprisoned. On 19th April, 1581, Freak, Bishop of Norwich, wrote to Lord Burghley concerning Browne, who, he says, had been sent out of the diocese, but returned, and was at the time evidently in custody. Two days later Burghley replied, requesting lenient treatment for his kinsman, as one who erred "of zeal rather than of malice." Again in August Freak complained of the disturber,



urging Burghley to aid in effectually suppressing him; and again Burghley intervened on his behalf. But the little company perceived that religious freedom in England was at that time hopeless; and in the autumn of 1581 they migrated to Middelburgh in Zeeland.

Here, within the next few months, the most important part of Browne's life-work was accomplished. In the *Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of all True Christians* he expounded the theory of Congregational Independency; in the *Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Anie* he set forth the incompetence of the magistrate either to reform or control the Church; in the *Treatise upon the 23 of Matthewe* he dealt with anti-reforming authorities in a style scarcely less trenchant than that of Martin Marprelate. The works were published separately, but the two latter were designed to be prefixed to the first in a single volume, with a general title page. They were all printed at Middelburgh in 1582, and found appreciative readers in England. In June of the following year a royal proclamation commanded the destruction of all copies of "the same or such like sedicious bookes or libels"; and earlier in the same month Elias Thacker and John Copping were hanged at Bury St. Edmund's for distributing them. Certainly their offence was aggravated by their avowal that "they believed all things in those books to be good and godly"; and that they "acknowledged Her Majesty chief ruler civil, and no further." Church and State had long contended for the mastery, and Becket, More, Fisher, and others, had laid down their lives in the cause of ecclesiastical domination; but the "Brownists," Thacker and Copping, may fairly be claimed as the first English martyrs for religious liberty.

Some time before this Browne had married Alice Allen, from Yorkshire. Nothing is known of her beyond a hint that she was to some extent the cause or occasion of the unhappy dissension which broke out among the exiles at Middelburgh. However, there were differences of judgment and personal alienations, perhaps the inevitable result of an attempt to realise an ideal Christian society without regarding the infirmities of human nature. In consequence the society broke up; Harrison and some of the members joined the English church of which the Puritan Cartwright was pastor, while Browne and a few others took ship for Scotland. Cartwright had written a letter urging that they should strive for further reformation of the Church from within, rather than incur the responsibility of separation; to which Browne published a reply, insisting that in the State Church godly discipline was impossible; but it is thought that this *Answer to Master Cartwright* was not issued till the following year.

Browne arrived at Dundee towards the end of 1583, and, after visiting Andrew Melville at St. Andrew's, took up his abode in Edinburgh in January, 1584. He at once began to circulate his books, and was promptly summoned before the Kirk Session. As

he declared that neither himself nor his comrades were subject to the discipline of the Scottish Kirk, he was committed to prison. After a short time he was released, and seems to have travelled somewhat widely in Scotland; but was in London in July. The events of the next sixteen months are obscure. Within that space of time he had evidently published his autobiographical *True and Short Declaration*, and another tract of which the title is lost, but of which extracts are preserved in Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross, 9th February, 1588. It seems clear that he had striven, in and about London, to proclaim the faith that was in him, especially as to a purer discipline than is possible in the English or any other State Church; that his health was impaired; that he was arrested by the Bishop of London; and that he endured a lengthened imprisonment. Burghley once more intervened in his favour, and in October, 1585, he was committed to the friendly custody of his father at Tolethorpe. After about four months the elder Browne was unwilling to be responsible for his son's good (*i.e.*, submissive) behaviour; and asked leave for him to reside in Stamford, where he would be more directly under Burghley's supervision. This was granted; but in the spring of 1586 he seems to have gone to Northampton, where he resumed the teaching of his unpopular doctrines. Howland, Bishop of Peterborough, cited him to answer for this renewed offence; and Browne, refusing to appear, was formally excommunicated for contempt.

It has been seriously alleged that this excommunication reclaimed Browne from his "schism"! As if *any* spiritual censure from an Erastian prelate could have the slightest moral influence on the author of the *Treatise of Reformation* and the *Book which Sheweth &c.* But when it is remembered that in those days a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* left its victim only the option of submission or perpetual imprisonment, we need not pass too severe a judgment on a husband and father who, after seven years' conflict with authorities ecclesiastical and civil, desisted from what might seem a hopeless battle.

The date of Browne's submission is uncertain; but in November, 1586, he was appointed Master of St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark. This school had been founded in 1560, and constituted a free grammar school in 1571. The terms of his appointment were sufficiently humiliating; he was required to sign an engagement not only to conform to the doctrine of the Established Church, communicate at convenient times, and accompany the children to sermons and lectures; but also to teach none but the regulation catechism, keep no conventicles, and have no conference with suspected or disorderly persons. He does not appear to have observed the spirit of these conditions very closely. He certainly wrote an *Answer to Stephen Bridwell his first booke against Brownists*, which first book was only published in 1586; and he seems to have attended a conventicle as late as 1588. It is

uncertain whether this *Answer* was ever printed ; Dexter thinks it was only circulated in MS.

But indeed by this time he began to shew signs of that mental infirmity which beclouded his later years. He had become irascible and impatient of contradiction ; and his antagonist Bredwell, who was a physician, and was personally acquainted with him, wrote in 1588 "Browne is sound ; his brain is sick." Yet he regularly attended to his tutorial duties, was indeed an educational enthusiast, and about this time wrote a book---never printed, and now totally lost---which must have been a kind of Circle of the Sciences. By his own account it seems to have been tinged with that strange conceit afterwards known as Hutchinsonianism, the notion that the germs of all sciences are contained in Holy Scripture. In a strange letter to Burghley, undated, but endorsed 1590, he complains of the neglect of this treatise, and asks permission to read public lectures. The letter is among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, and was printed by Strype ; it is evidently the effusion of a disordered mind. But the disorder thus far only amounted to eccentricity ; and in June, 1589, Burghley sent him to the Bishop of Peterborough with a letter, asking the bishop "to receive him again into the ministry, as a means and help for ecclesiastical preferment." It is noticeable that Browne is thus recognised as a disabled clergyman ; yet there is no proof that he had ever been episcopally ordained, and a strong presumption to the contrary.

In the autumn of 1591 he resigned his mastership, and was presented by Burghley to the rectory of Achurch-with-Thorpe, a small Northamptonshire village of which the population can scarcely have exceeded a hundred, but which afforded a comfortable income. Here six of his children were born ; and here he ministered, with some intermissions, for not less than forty years.

Though thus in some sense reconciled to the Established Order it is pretty certain---indeed it was openly said in his lifetime---that Browne retained his own opinion about the true conception of the Church. He would not admit that the term was rightly applied to a parish assembly, or to the ecclesiastical department of the State. He expressed his views on the matter in a bad pun : "There was no Established Church in the kingdom but his, and that was A-Church." As to the scandalous stories that were told of him, they seem to be mere exaggeration either of quite harmless incidents, or of such as proceeded (as Dexter has clearly shewn) from intermittent insanity. He was a great lover of music, played well on the lute, and his eldest son Timothy (probably born at Middelburgh) used to play a bass viol in church. This would seem to the rigid Puritan Baillie quite enough to mark him as "an open profaner of the Sabbath." More serious is the charge that he was "a common beater of his poor old wife, whom he is said to have described as "a cursed old woman" ; but we must not attach too much importance to the spiteful gossip of Baillie. Moreover, unreasoning out-

bursts of violence, without provocation, are characteristic of a well-known form of intermittent insanity. It is unlikely that Alice, the mother of his children, was the victim of Browne's irresponsible violence; she died in 1610, about 30 years after her marriage, and seven after the birth of her youngest child; she cannot, therefore, have been very old, probably between 50 and 55. There is no record of a second marriage, nor any entry in the local register of a burial which might be that of a second wife or widow. Nevertheless, we must assume such a person to have existed, on the clear testimony of Fuller, who was born at Aldwinkle—little more than a mile from Achurch—in 1608, and lived there till 1620. He distinctly says "I have when a youth often beheld him"; and "in my time he had a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preached." Dexter slights this testimony; but Fuller as a boy attended a school at Aldwinkle kept by Arthur Smith, who from March 1616 to April 1621 acted as Browne's "curat" or *locum tenens*.

During the whole incumbency—with one long intermission—Browne kept the parish register with scrupulous care. There are upwards of 500 entries, mostly in his very clear handwriting. Yet, here and there, his mental disorder is betrayed by odd remarks, sometimes irrelevant, sometimes spiteful. And for nearly nine years, September 1617 to June 1626, the entries are in other hands—first that of Arthur Smith, and then that of John Barker; the most natural explanation of which is that he was secluded or incapable. The latest appearance of his handwriting is dated 2nd June, 1631; and the last sad scene was not long delayed. A constable called on him respecting a debt; an altercation ensued, in course of which he struck the man. For this he was brought before a magistrate, who was convinced by his strange behaviour that he was not fit to be at large. There was then no county lunatic asylum, so he was committed to Northampton jail. The distance is about twenty miles; and the old man, being both feeble and very corpulent, was conveyed thither in a cart, a feather bed being provided for his comfort. He never left the jail, but died there at some uncertain date before November, 1633. The place of his burial is doubtful, but an old tradition specifies a large uninscribed stone at the entrance of the chancel at Achurch.

Browne had three sons—two of whom were married; and four daughters, who all died young. It is probable, though not certain, that he had one or two other children born between 1585 and 1591. Four of his grandchildren were married, and lived at Achurch, Uppingham, St. Saviour's, and Dartford respectively; and it is quite possible that, in one or other of these neighbourhoods, his posterity may still survive.

Historians who ought to have known better have joined in the chorus of reproach against Browne; apparently because he accepted the retreat provided by the friendship of Burghley, instead of



courting the martyr's death with Barrowe and Penry. One has even spoken of "the ample legacy of his shame"! There is shame, indeed, but it rests on those who persecuted him to madness; while for him there is the lasting honour of having first enunciated the principle of "A FREE CHURCH IN A FREE STATE," a principle which, universally repudiated in his lifetime, is to-day accepted by four-fifths of English-speaking Christendom.





[General title page of the volume containing's Browne's  
principal works.]

A Booke  
*WHICH SHEWETH THE*  
*life and manners of all true Christians*

And howe vnlike they are vnto Turkes and Papistes  
and Heathen folke.

Also the pointes and partes of all diuini-  
nitie, that is of the reuealed will and worde of God are  
declared by their feuerall Definitions  
*and Diuisions in order as fol-*  
loweth.

¶ Also there goeth a Treatise before of  
Reformation without tarying for anie, and of the wicked-  
nesse of those Preachers, which will not reforme them  
selues and their charge, because they will  
tarie till the Magistrate commaunde  
and compell them.

By me, ROBERT BROWNE.  
MIDDELBVRGH

¶ Imprinted by Richarde Painter  
1582

## Bibliographical List of Browne's Works

1 *A Treatise of Reformation without tarying for Anie, and of the wickedness of those Preachers, which will not reforme till the Magistrate commaunde or compell them.* 4to., 18pp., 1582. Only three copies known; at Lambeth, the British Museum, and Yale College. Reprinted lately at Boston; and by the Congregational Historical Society, *Transactions* No. II.

2 *A Treatise vpon the 23 of Matthewe, both for an order of studying and handling the Scriptures, and also auoyding the Popishe disorders, and vngodly communion of all false Christians, and especiallie of wicked Preachers and hirelings.* 4to., 44pp., 1582. Copies in the British Museum (defective), and at Lambeth.

3 *A Booke which Sheweth the life and Manners of all true Christians, and howe vnlke they are vnto Turkes and Papistes, and Heathen folke. Also the pointes and partes of all Diuinitie, that is of the reuealed will and worde of God, are declared by their seuerall Definitions, and Diuisions in order as followeth.* 4to., 111pp., 1582. Copies in the Bodleian, Lambeth, British Museum, Trinity College Cambridge, and Congregational Libraries. (These three were intended to be bound together.)

4 *An Answer to Master Carlwright his Letters for joyning with the English Churches; whereunto the true copie of his sayde letter is annexed.* 4to., 2-85-11pp., 1583. Copies in the Bodleian and Williams's Libraries.

5 *A True and Short Declaration, Both of the Gathering and Joyning together of certaine Persons; and also of the Lamentable Breach and Diuision which fell amongst them.* 4to., 24pp., 1584. An unique copy at Lambeth. Reprinted 1888.

The following are no longer extant :—

6 *A Conference with M.P. and M.E.*

7 *Aunswere to Steephen Bridewell his first booke against Brownists.* 1586 or -7.

8 *A Treatise against one Barow.*

Browne also wrote, or compiled—

*Latine tables and definiitions.* This was never printed, and seems to be totally lost.

There is also in MS,

*A Letter to Burghley.* 1589 or -90. Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. It was printed by Strype.

**A TREATISE OF REFORMATION  
WITHOUT TARYING FOR ANIE**





A TREATISE OF REFORMATION WITHOUT TARYING FOR ANIE, AND OF  
THE WICKEDNESSE OF THOSE PREACHERS WHICH WILL NOT  
REFORME TILL THE MAGISTRATE COMMAUNDE  
OR COMPELL THEM.

{ Middelburgh, 1582.

By ROBERT BROWNE.

SEEING in this Booke wee shewe the state of Christians, and haue laboured also in good conscience to liue as Christians, It is maruailed & often talked of among manie, why we should be so reuiled and troubled of manie, & also leaue our countrie. *Forsooth* (say the enimies) *there is some hiddē thing in them more thē plainly appeareth: for they beare euill will to their Princes Queene ELIZABETH and to their cōtrie, yea they forsake the church of God, & cōdemne the same, and are cōdemned of all, and they also discredit & bring into cōtēpt the Preachers of the Ghospel.* To aunswere them, we say, That they are the men which trouble Israel, and seeke euill to the Prince, and not we. And that they forsake and condemne the Church and not we. First concerning our faithfulnessse to our Prince and Countrie, and what our iudgement is of the ciuil authoritie, we aunswere as appeareth in this Treatise. For their other accusations and siaunders of forsaking and condemning the Church, &c. if our doings will not stoppe their mouthes, nor this booke which followeth of the state of Christians, we purpose by the grace of God, to shewe in an other booke, which shall hereafter come foorth, whether we or they be the rebellious children and a false seede. But for the Magistrate, howe farre by their authoritie or without it, the Church must be builded and reformation made, and whether anie open wickednesse must be tollerated in the Church because of them, let this be our aunswere. For chieflie in this point they haue wrought vs great trouble, and dismayed manie weakelings from imbracing the trueth. We say therefore, and often haue taught, concerning our Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, that neither the Pope, nor other Popeling, is to haue anie authoritie either ouer her, or ouer the Church of God, and that the Pope of Rome is Antichrist, whose kingdome ought vtterlie to be taken

## Reformation without Tarying for Anie

away. Agayne we say, that her Authoritie is ciuil, and that power she hath as highest under God within her Dominions, and that ouer all persons and causes. By that she may put to death all that deserue it by Lawe, either of the Church or common Wealth, and none may resiste her or the Magistrates vnder her by force or wicked speeches, when they execute the lawes. Seeing we graunt and holde thus much, howe doe they charge vs as euill willers to the Queene? Surelie, for that wee holde all those Preachers and teachers accursed, which will not doe the duties of Pastors and teachers till the Magistrates doe force them thereto. They saye, the time is not yet come to builde the Lordes House [IIag. 1.], they must tarie for the Magistrates and for Parliaments to do it. They want the ciuill sword forsooth, and the Magistrates doe hinder the Lordes building and kingdome, and keepe away his gouernement. Are they not ashamed thus to slaunder the Magistrate? They haue runne their owne swordes vpon the Wall and broken them, and nowe woulde they snatche vnto them the Magistrates swordes. In deede can the Lordes spirituall gouernement be no waye executed but by the ciuill sword, or is this the iudgement that is written [Psal. 149.], Such honour shall be to all his Saintes? Is this to binde the Kinges in chaines, and the Nobles with Fetters of Iron, by the high actes of GOD in their mouthes, and a two edged sword in their handes? Those bandes and chaines, which is the spirituall power of the Church, they haue broken from them selues, and yet woulde they haue Magistrates bounde with them, to beginne Discipline. They would make the Magistrates more than Goddes, and yet also worse then beastes. For they teache that a lawefull Pastour must giue ouer his charge at their discharging, and when they withhold the Church gouernement, it ought for to cense, though the Church goe to ruine thereby. Behoide nowe, doeth not the Lordes kingdome giue place vnto theirs? And doe they not pull downe the heade Christe Iesus [Col. 1. 18], to sett vppe the hande of the Magistrate? yea and more than this, for they firste proclaime the names and tytles of wicked Bishoppes and popishe officers, and the Lordes name alter: Seeing also the Bishoppes must discharge the lawfull Preachers, and stoppe their mouthes, though the Lorde God haue giuen them a charge for to speake, and not to keepe silence. The Lorde hath exalted Christe Iesus [Phil. 2], and giuen him a name aboue ouerie name, that all thinges should bowe and serue vnto him, and yet haue they exalted the power of wicked Bishoppes aboue him. Beholde a great and moste wholesome riuer, and yet their puddle water is preferred before it. Except the Magistrates will goe into the tempest and raine, and bee weather benten with the haile of Gods wrath, they muste keepe vnder the roufe of Christes gouernement. They must bee vnder a Pastorall charge: They must obeye to the Scepter of Christe, if they bee Christians. Howe then shoulde the Pastor, which hath the ouersight of the Magistrate, if hee bee of his flocke, bee so ouerseene of the Magistrate, as to leaue his flocke, when the Magistrate shall must

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and wrongfullie discharge him. Yet these Preachers and teachers will not onelie doo so, but euen holding their charge and keeping with it, will not guide and reforme it aright, because the Magistrates doo forbidde them forsooth. But they slaunder the Magistrate, and because they dare not charge them as forbidding them their dueties, they haue gotten this shift, that they doo but tarie for the Magistrates authoritie, and then they will guide and reforme as they ought. Beholde, is not all this one thing, seeing they lift vppe the throne of the Magistrates, to thrust out the kingdome of Christe? For his gouernment or Discipline is wanting (saye they) but wee keepe it not awaye. And who then? For moste of them dare not charge the Magistrates, but onelie closelie, and with manie flatterings, that they might still be exalted by the Magistrates. They leaue their owne burthen, and crie out that it is not caried by faulte of the Magistrate. So they make them enimies, because they saye they withhold the Church gouernment: euen enimies doo they make them to the Lordes kingdome and righteousnesse: and why then do they not wage that spirituall battell against them, whiche is to cut them of from the Church? For the Scepter and kingdome of Christ is not of this worlde, to fight with dint of sworde, but it is a right Scepter, which subdueth the people vnder vs, and Nations vnder our feete. [Psal. 47., Psal. 45.] Hee iudgeth the wicked, and by the rebuke of his worde, he filleth all places with the slaine, and smiteth the Heades ouer great countries. [Psal. 110.]

Now then if the Magistrates be enimies vnto the Lords kingdome, why are not these men better warriars to vpholde the same? For they giue vp the weapons of their warfare into the enimies handes, and then say, they can not doo withall. By their weapons I meane those whereof Paule doeth speake, [2 Cor. 10.] that they are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe holdes, and so foorth: These weapons haue they giuen from thē, for they haue not the Keyes of the Kingdome of heauen to binde and lose, [Mat. 18., Iohn 20] and to retaine or pronounce remitted the sinnes of men, seeing they graunt much open wickednesse incurable among them, and also auouche that it must needes be suffered. Yea they haue given vp these keyes to the Magistrates or to the Spirituall Courtes, and therefore haue no right to call them selues the Church of God, or lawfull Pastors thereof. Christ is at the right hande of God, gone vp into heauen saieth Peter [1. Pet. 3.] to whom the angels and powers and might are subiecte, howe then shoulde his kingdome tarie for the Magistrate, except they thinke that they are better able to vpholde it then he. Yea we must presse vnto his kingdome not tarying for anie, as it is written in Luke [Luke 16.], & againe in Matthew [Mat. 11.], the kingdome of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it vnto them by force. In the throng which is made to escape a burhing, would they tarie for the Magistrate to make them a waye, and should they not rather if they could, make a way for the Magistrate? They see that the kingdome of God is with strife (?) and great labor, and yet they will haue it with ease and the

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euill sworde must get it them. Ierusalem (saith the Prophete) [Dan. 9.] and the streetes and Wall thereof, shall be built euen in a troublous time, and to tarie till it be built without troubles, is to looke for a conquest without going to battell, and for an ende and rewarde of our laboures which would neuer take paines. My kingdome, saith Christe, is not of this world, and they would shift in both Bishoppes and Magistrates into his spirituall throne to make it of this worlde: yea to stay the Church gouernement on them, is not onely to shift but to thrust them before Christ. Yet vnder him in his spirituall kingdome are [1. Cor. 12.] first Apostles, secondlie Prophetes, thirdlie, teachers &c. Also helpers and spirituall guides: But they put the Magistrates first, which in a common wealth in deede are first, and aboue the Preachers, yet haue they no ecclesiasticall authoritie at all, but onely as anie other Christians, if so be they be Christians. Therefore hath God made these teachers fooles, and these spirituall professors as madde men. For woe unto you, ye Priestlie preachers and Doctours hypocrites, which are a snare to the people, and fill vp their measure of iniquitie, while ye pretende the Magistrates authoritie. For will anie man else giue ouer his calling, or abridge the full execution thereof, when the Magistrates forbid them, will they cease the teaching or due guiding of their householdes and charge for their dischargings, and should the labourers in Gods spirituall husbandrie giue ouer and ceasse. For it is Gods husbandrie [1. Cor. 3.] and not theirs, the Church is his building and not theirs. They are but members thereof if they be Christians, and are not anie way to stay the building, neither is it to tarie or wait vpon them. But these wicked preachers eate vp and spoyle the Lords harvest them selues, and then set open the gapp, as though the Magistrates brake in like wild bores, and spoiled the harvest. They say, beholde we haue a Christian Prince, and a mother in Israel: but can they be Christians, when they make them to refuse, or withstand the gouernement of Christ in his Church, or will not be subiect vnto it. If they therefore refuse and withstande, howe should they be taried for? If they be with them, there is no tarying: and if they be aguinste them, they are no Christians, and therefore also, there can be no tarying. For the worthie may not tarie for the vnworthie, but rather forsake them, as it is writtē [Actes 2.], Sane your selues from this frowarde generation: and cast not pearles before Swine, nor holy things vnto dogges [Matth. 8]: and rebuke not a skorne sayeth the wise man [Prouerb. 9.], least he hate thee: and inquire who is worthie, sayeth Christ [Mat. 10.]. He that will be saved, must not tarie for this man or that: and he that putteth his hande to the plowe, and then looketh backe, is not fitt for the kingdome of God [Luke 9.] Therefore woe vnto you ye blinde guides, which cast away all by tarying for the Magistrates. The Lorde will remember this iniquitie, and visite this sinne vpon you. Ye will not haue the kingdome of God, to go forward by his spirit, but by an armie & strength for soot [Zach. 4.]: ye will not haue it as Leauen hidde in three peeces



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meale, till it leauen all [Matt. 13.], but at once ye will haue all aloft, by ciuill power and authoritie : you are offended at the basenesse and small beginnings, and because of the troubles in beginning reformation, you will doe nothing. Therefore shall Christ be that rocke of offence vnto you, and ye shall stumble and fall, and shall be broken, and shall be snared, and shal be taken. You wil be deliuered from the yoke of Antichrist, to the which you doo willinglie giue your neckes, by bowe, and by sworde, and by battell, by horses and by horssemen [Hosea 2.], that is, by ciuill power and pompe of Magistrates : by their Proclamations and Parliamentes : and the kingdome of God must come with obseruation [Luke 17.], that men may say, Loe the Parliament, or loe the Bishoppes decrees : but the kingdome of God shoulde be within you. The inwarde obedience to the outwarde preaching and gouernement of the Church, with newnes of life, that is the Lordes kingdome. This ye despise. Therefore shall ye desire to see the kingdome of God, and shall not see it, and to enioye one day of the Sonne of man, and ye shall not enioye it. For ye set aloft mans authoritie aboue Gods, and the Preacher must hang on his sleeue for the discharge of his calling. In the 32. of Iob, doth not Elihu holde his authoritie, and durst not account of mannes authorising, though learned, wise and aged, yea the Elders or Fathers of the Church, neither would he spare either Iob or them, or submitte him selfe to them in respecte of his calling. I will receiue no mans person, saith he, and I will vse no title (or preface) before man, for I knowe not to vse tytles, If I vse them a little, he would take me awaye that made me. But these men name them selues, some the Bishoppes Chaplaines, some my Lordes Chaplaines, and some the Queenes Chaplaines, and call them their Masters, to whom their calling and ministerie must serue at commandement. Thus the Lordes spirituall message must be beautified with these tytles of men, (*The right Honorable my Lorde. &c. who is my very good Lorde and Maister,*) Yet Christe him selfe saith [Mat. 11.], that the Preachers now in his kingdome, haue greater authoritie than Iohn Baptist, and Iohn Baptist greater then the Prophetes before him. Therefore if Ieremie was set ouer the Nations & ouer the Kingdomes, to plucke vp and to roote out, and to destroye and throwe downe, to builde and to plante [Ierem. 1.], Then haue we also an authoritie against which if the Kings and Nations doo sett them selues, we maye not be afraide of their faces, nor leaue our calling for them. Howe long therefore will these men take the inheritance from the right heire, and giue it unto the seruaunt? For the spirituall power of Christe and his Church, and the Keyes of binding and losing, they take from Christe, and giue to the Magistrate. The Magistrates haue the ciuill sworde, and least they should strike them therewith, they giue them the Ecclesiastical also. Hoe say they, If we were Prophetes, or if we were Apostles, then shoulde we preache though the Magistrate forbidde us, but wee are but bare Pastors or Preachers, and therefore we must ~~fear~~ <sup>fear</sup> their frowning and threatates, and keepe silence thereat. But let



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them speake, Had not the Magistrates, as full and the same power ouer Apostles, as ouer other Pastours, or were Apostles more exempted from their obedience to Magistrates, then other Preachers? For let euerie soule be subject to the higher powers, saith the scriptures [Rom. 13.]. Therefore as they coulde not displace, nor discharge Apostles from their office & calling, no more can they doo lawfull Pastours and Preachers: for whether it be right in the sight of God, to obeye men rather then God, let all men iudge [Actes 4.]. But to this they aunswere, that Peter saied this, being an Apostle: But in deede muste Apostles onelie followe their calling, though menne doo discharge them, and may not other doe it likewise? For as God hath distributed to euerie man the gifte (saith the Scripture) [1. Cor. 7.] as the Lorde hath called euerie one, so let him walke, and so ordained Paule in all the churches. If then the Magistrate will commaunde the Souldiour to be a Minister, or the Preacher to giue ouer his calling, and chaunge it for an other, they ought not to obeye him, for they haue not the gifte, and God hath called them. this way rather then that. Yet if the Magistrate call one of a lower calling to an higher, to the which he is fitt and prepared, he ought to obeye, for God hath calleth [sic] him thereto. And in all thinges wee must firste looke, what is the Lordes will and charge, and then what is the will of man. For we are bought for a price, saith Paule, [1. Cor. 7.] and we may not be seruauntes to the vnlawfull cōmaundings of men. And this freedome haue all Christians, that they consider what is lawfull and what is profitable, what they may doo and what is expedient [1. Cor. 6.], and in no case bee brought vnder the power of aue thing, as Paule teacheth vs [1. Cor. 10.]. What soeuer doth most edifie, that must we chuse, and auoide the contrarie: and what soeuer is most expedient, that must be done, and so we must applie our selues all vnto all, that notwithstanding we holde our libertie. For if either Magistrate or other would take that from vs, wee must not giue place by yeelding vnto them, no, not for an houre [Galat. 2.], and this libertie is the free vse of our callings and giiftes, as we see most agreeing to the worde of God, and expedient for his glorie. Therefore the Magistrates commaundement, must not be a rule vnto me of this and that duetie, but as I see it agree with the worde of God. So the it is an abuse of my giifte and calling, if I cease preaching for the Magistrate, when it is my calling to preach, yea & woe unto me, if I preache not, for necessitie is laid vpon me, and if I doe it unwillinglie, yet the dispensation is committed vnto me [1. Cor. 9.]. And this dispensation did not the Magistrate giue me, but God by consent and ratifying of the Church, and therefore as the Magistrate gaue it not, so can he not take it away. In deede if God take it away for my wickednesse and euill deserte, he may remove me from the Church, and withholde me from preaching: but if God doo it not, and his worde doeth approue me, as most meete for that calling, I am to preache still, except I be shut vp in prison, or otherwise with violence withholde from my charge. For the

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Magistrate so vsing me cannot be a Christian, but forsaketh the Church: and howe then should my office in the Church depende on him which is none of the Church? And the welfare of the Church must be more regarded and sought, then the welfare of whole Kingdomes and Countries, as it is written [Isa. 43.]: Because thou wast precious in my sight, and thou wast honourable and I loued thee, therefore will I giue man for thee, and people for thy sake. And againe he saith, I gaue Egypt for thy ransome, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. The Lorde shall therefore iudge these men, and cut them of both heade & tayle, braunch and rushe in one day. The auncient and the honorabie men, which take on them to put downe the Lordes authoritie, and to stoppe the monthes of his messengers, they be the heade, and the wicked teachers which exalte men aboue God, they are the tayle. They are afrayde of the face of the Magistrate, & do flatter and currie fauour with them, and they would haue vs also to doo the like. But ye the Lords faithfull seruantes trusse vppe your loines as Ieremie. [Iere. 1.], which in your charges haue greater authoritie than Ieremie, as we proued before. Arise and speak vnto them, all that I commaunde you, sayeth the Lorde. For I, beholde I haue made you as defenced cities, and yron pillers, & walles of brasse, against the whole lande, against the Kings and against the Princes, against the Priestes and against the people. For they shall fight against you, but they shall not preuayle, for I am with you to deliuer you euen to the ende of the worlde. Therefore yee vanishe in vanity yee wicked Preachers: for knowe ye not, that they which haue their full and sufficient authoritie and calling, are not to tarie for a further authorising. And hath not euerie lawfull Pastor or Preacher his full authoritie? Are they not to teach the whole will of God, and guide accordinglie, and haue they not then their whole authoritie? For herein was Paule free from the bloode of all menne [Actes 20.], because he had kept nothing backe, but hadde shewed them all the counsell of God. But (say they) Paule taught them in deede the whole ccunsell of God, and so maye wee, but we may not gouerne: we may tell the Magistrates, that gouvernement is wanting, but we may not take vppon us, to be reformers. In deede, did not Paule both in worde and deede testifie his faithfulness, did he not in practise as well as in wordes, fulfill his calling? For (sayeth he) you knowe my maner of life: and addeth further, that in seruing the Lorde, he kept backe nothing that was profitable. [Act. 20. 18, 19, 20.] Howe then shoulde hee keepe backe the gouernement of the Church, whiche is all in all. And in the 35. verse, he setteth himselfe for example, for I haue sheweth you all thinges, saith hee, how that so labouring, ye ought to supporte the weake. Noting that hee sheweth in worde and example, not that oneliè, but all thinges else, for due guiding of the Church. And therefore let them not flee to their odde distiction of ordinarie ond [and] extraordinarie, as though Paule might guide the Church without tarying for the Magistrate and wee may not. For Paule set downe him selfe for an

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example: and in the 28. verse, and in the 31. he applieth all vnto them, that they shoulde followe him, that they shoulde watche night and daye in teaching and guiding the flocke as he did. Yea they must not onelie preache, but teache them the practise. They muste obserue and doo all thinges which Christ hath commaunded. [Matth. 28.] And the Lorde did not onelie shewe them the Tabernacle, but badde them make it [Exod. 25.]. But these menne will not make it at all, because they will taria for the Magistrate. Christe is before vs and his Apostles: as Moses a figure of Christe was before them, and yet we must taria for the Magistrates. And for what Magistrates? For those of our charge, trowe ye, or for those which are none of our charge? Muste wee not in all thinges looke duellie to our charge, and let them goe which are none of our charge? For wee shall not giue accountes vnto God for them which are out of our charge. For we must take heede to our selues, sayeth the Scripture [Act. 20.], and to all the flocke whereof the holie Ghoste hath made vs ouerseers. But these men teach, that we must let our charge alone, and lay from vs the gouernement thereof, for their sakes which are none of our charge. Shal not these men be hurled out of their place and charge, whiche thus doo mocke with the Lord, and dallee with their charges? Yea the Lord shall take them awaye with a swifte destruction, and menne shall clappe their handes at them and hisse them out of their places. Euerie Preacher must runne to the Queene and to the Counsaill forsooth, as though they were of their charge, and the Magistrates must plant & reforme al Churches at once. If they be of their flockes, why should they taria for thē? vnlesse they will haue the sheepe to force the sheepehearde vnto his dutie. In deede the Magistrate may force him, but it is his shame to taria till he be forced. Be ashamed therefore ye foolish shepherdes, and laye not a burthen on the Magistrates, as though they should do that in building the Lordes kingdome, which the Apostles and Prophetes coude not doo. They coude not force Religion [Song 8.], as ye woulde haue the Magistrate to do, and it was forbidden the Apostles to preache to the vnworthie, or to force a planting or gouernement of the Church [Mat. 10.]. The Lordes kingdome is not by force, neither by an armie or strēgth [Zach. 4., Hosea 2.], as be the kingdomes of this worlde. Neither durst Moses, nor anie of the good Kings of Iuda force the people by lawe or by power to receiue the church gouernement, but after they receiued it, if then they fell awaye, and sought not the Lorde, they might put them to death. For the conenaunte was firste made, as it is written [2. Chro. 15], they made a conenant to seeke the Lord God of their fathers, with all their harte, and with all their soule. And then followe the next wordes which are to be vnderstoode of thē which made the conenaunt, for of them which so sware vnto the Lorde, whosoener did not seeke the Lorde God of Israel, should be slaine, whether he were small or great man or woman. And therefore did the whole congregation of Israel gather them together, to warre against the children of

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**R**eu ben and Gad, because they seemed to forsake the couenant [Ioshu. 22]. Yet woulde not Hezekiah fight against Israel, though they laughed him to skorne and mocked at his doings [2. Chro. 30.], for they had not receiued the couenaunt, but their forefathers, and they were nowe called to the couenaunt againe, which the Lorde had disannulled with their forefathers: as it is written [2. Chro. 15.], that for a long season Israel had bin without the true God, and without Prieste to teache, and without lawe. Nowe therefore let the wise vnderstande these things, and the Lorde be mercifull, and deliuer vs from these vnreasonable and euill men. For there is no ende of their pride and crueltie which ascende vp and sit in the Magistrates chaire and smite the people with a continuall plague, and such of them as haue not yet gotten the rume, do crie for Discipline, Discipline, that is for a ciuill forcing, to imprison the people, or otherwise by violence to handle and beate them, if they will not obeye them. But the Lorde shall bring them downe to the dust, and to the pitt, as abhominable carkasses, which would be aboue the cloudes, yea which dare presume into the throne of Christe Iesus, and vsurpe that authoritie and calling in his Church, which is opposed and contrarie to his kingdom and gouernement. This shall appeare afterwarde: In the meane time let them knowe that the Lords people is of the willing sorte. They shall come vnto Zion and inquire the way to Ierusalem [Ierem. 50.], not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward: yea as the hee goates shall they be before the flocke, for the haste they haue vnto Zion, and they them selues shall call for the couenaunt, saying, Come and let vs cleaue faste vnto the Lorde in a perpetuall couenaunt that shall neuer be forgotten. For it is the conscience and not the power of man that will drine vs to seeke the Lordes kingdome: as it is written againe [Ierem. 51.], Remember the Lorde a farre of, and let Ierusalem come into your mindes, for they see the fierce wrath of the Lorde, where the Lordes kingdome is not, and they flee from the same going and weeping as they goe, as the Prophete saieth [Iere. 51.], because he hath bin angrie so long. But nowe they haue escaped his displeasure, they goe on and stande not still till they appeare before the Lorde in Zion [Psal. 84.]. Yea and the Lords people shall come willinglie in the day of his assemblies, euen his armies in holie beautie [Psal. 110]. Yet the frowarde wilbe frowarde still, for (say they) Moses and the kinges of Iuda did reforme the Church, and they were taried for, therefore we also must tarie for our Magistrates. Beholde nowe howe the shame of their faces doeth testifie against them, which dare against their consciences, make our Magistrates prophetes with Moses, yea high Priestes as he was and figures of Christ, as both he was and the Kings of Iuda also. How boldelie also dare they peruert the trueth, affirming that some which ought to reforme, did it not, because they would tarie for Moses or for the Kinges of Iuda. For did Zacharie (say they) or the Prophet Haggai, builde of them selues, and not rather call on the ciuill Magistrates and tarie for them? But they knowe not (as men that are willinglie ignoraunt) that their building of



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the Temple stoode in outward furniture of timber, stone, cariage, and therefore had neede of the helpe of Zerubabel the Prince: but our spirituall prouision, as the giiftes, callings, and graces of the Church neede not anie worldlie preparation in such outward ceremonies. Therefore we aunswere, that Zerubabel being a figure of Christ, as appeareth in Zacharie the 4. he was to be chiefe in the worke. Neither were they in that worke as ciuill Magistrates now a dayes, but as Spiritual guides, representing Christe and his spirituall kingdome. Neither did Haggai or Zacharie taria for the Magistrates, but went before them, for in the name of God they commaunded them to builde, and the text sayeth further [Ezra 5.], that they ioyned with them and helped them. So that neither by worde nor deede they taried and were behinde: yea when the King (whose subiects they were) commaunded them to cease, they refused to giue ouer the building. This appeareth in Ezra 4. 23. and in Ezra 5. 1. And before also [Hag. 1. 2., Hag. 2. 15.], because they ceased and lingered the building, for that the Magistrates were against them, they were sharpelie reprovied of Haggai, and it was a most grienous curse vnto them. Yet dare these menne laye sinne vpon the Prophetes, as tarying & lingering for the Magistrates. And wherefore? Forsooth they did not hewe timber, and carie stones first of all to further the worke. But in deede, were they not firste when they commaunded and the other obeyed, and when they ioyned with them & helped them? For otherwise might Salomon also not to be saied to builde the Temple, but to taria for others, because he him selfe brought not the stones, neither hewed them, but commaunded others (as the text sayeth) [1. Kin. 5. 17] and they obeyed and brought great stones, and costlie stones to make the foundation of the house. But if Zacharie or Haggai had taried, it proueth not that we must taria for our Magistrates. For both Iehoshua the high Prieste, and Zerubbabel the Prince, were figures of the high priesthoode and principedome of Christe, and also had an ecclesiastical gouernement ouer the Church, which our Magistrates haue not. And further also, euerie lawfull Preacher at this time hath that authoritie of building Gods Church equall with Zerubbabel and Iehoshuah, or rather superior, for they are compared with them, as the 11. of the Revelation, and the 4. of Zacharie will testifie, and in the 11. of Matthewe, and the 3. to the Corinthians the seconde Epistle, they are preferred afore them. We knowe that Moses might reforme, and the iudges and Kings which followed him, and so may our Magistrates: yet they may reforme the Church and commaunde things expedient for the same. Yet may they doo nothing concerning the Church, but onelie carrie, and as ciuile Magistrates, that is, they haue not that authoritie ouer the Church, as to be Prophetes or Priestes, or spiritual Kings, as they are Magistrates ouer the same: but onelie to rule the common wealth in all outward Iustice, to maintain the right welfare and honor thereof, with outward power, bodily punishment, & ciuil forcing of me. And therefore also because the church is in a common wealth, it is of their charge: that is concerning the outward prouision and outward iustice,

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they are to look to it, but to cōpell religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiastical gouernement by lawes & penalties belongeth not to them, as is proved before, neither yet to the Church. Let vs not therefore tarie for the Magistrates: For if they be christiās thei giue leane & gladly suffer & submit thē selues to the church gouernemēt. For he is a christian which is redeemed by Christ vnto holines & happines for euer & professeth the same by submitting him self to his lawes & gouernmēt. And if they be not christians, should the welfare of the church or the saluatiō of mens soules, hang on their courtesie? But they aske how we proue that Moses and the kings of Iudah & the Iudges before thē, were figures of Christ. They know it true, & dare not denie it, & yet to quarrel & trifle with the trueth, they must haue it proued. Yea they charge vs as Anabaptistes & denying Magistrates, because we set not vp them, nor the Magistrates aboue Christ Jesus and his glorious kingdome. How often haue we proued by word & writing these matters. For the Scepter shal not depart frō Iuda, saith the Scripture [Gene. 49.] nor a law giuer frō betwene his feete, vntil Shiloe come. By these wordes Iacob did prophesie, that one should take the spiritual kingdom & be Lord thereof, namelie Christ Iesus, and euer more one of the tribe of Iuda & house of Dauid, should foreshew the same as in figure, & sit also in the throne of iudgemēt, to declare it more liuelie, and that the throne of Dauid and the raigne of his children did so signifie, the Scripture declareth, as it is written [Isa. 16.], In mercie shall the throne be established, & he shal sit vpon it in stedfastnes in the Tabernacle of Dauid, iudging and seeking iudgement and hasting iustice. And againe it is written [Psal. 45.], In steade of thy fathers shal thy children be, whom thou shalt make Princes throughout all the earth. And this is spoken of the posteritie of Salomon, which as figures of Christ, were Lords of the world, though their dominiō in worldly wise was not so large. For all that Psalm is to magnifie the kingdome of Christ which is his church, which was prefigured by Salomon & his posteritie, and by the mariage of Salomon, which shadowed the church & the childrē thereof. And againe it is writtē [Isa. 9.], that Christ shall sit vpō the throne of his father Dauid, and vpon his kingdom, to order it & to stablish it with iudgement and with iustice for euer. Wherefore was it called the throne of Dauid & his kingdom, but because in a cōtinual course it shadowe out the kingdom of Christ till his cōming. Therefore also are Dauid, Salomon, Iehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Iosiah, and others, set downe in the Scripture as figures. Yea and the euill kings of Iuda, though not in their wickednesse, yet in that authoritie and calling whiche they shoulde haue rightlie vsed were figures.

For they all had their entrance at the East gate of the Temple, at the which the people might worshippe, but not goe in [Ezek. 46.]: they might pray for the people, and by their sacrifices attonement might be made: as it is writtē [Psal. 20.], Let him remember all thine offerings, and turne thy burnt offerings into Ashes. And againe, Saue Lorde, let



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the King heare vs in the daye that we call. Yea all those Kings were to looke to the Temple, to the building and restoring thereof when it was decayed, as did Iehoash, Iosiah, Hezekiah, and others.

Let them looke the 4. of Zacharie, the thirde of Hosea, and 5. verse, the 33 of Ieremie, and manie other places, especiallie in the Psalmes, and they shall finde Dauid and his children after him, in the throne of iudgement to foreshewe the comming of Christ. And if the high Priestes and Kings of Iudah in their spiritual ministration were glorious [Zacha. 4.], because they figured Christ Iesus, & for the glorie of their office were cōpared to two Olive trees, and two golden Candlestickes [Renela. 11.], Then also must their ministration be glorious, to whom God shall giue power in these latter dayes to be his witnesses. For they also stande before the God of the earth, as it is written Reuel. 11. And if anie man, whether Magistrate or other, would hurt them, the fire of their message proceedeth out of their mouthes, and denoureth their enimies. Therefore is their authoritie of God and not of man, and much lesse doeth it depende on man, or on the Magistrate. For vpon what man did the authoritie of Moses depende? yet Paule affirmeth [2. Cor. 3.], that the ministration of the sprite committed to all faithfull teachers at this time, exceedeth in glorie the ministration by Moses and the Prophetes before time. Yea the Church hath more authoritie concerning Church gouernement then Magistrates, as it is written [Isa. 45.], They shall followe thee, and shal goe in Chaines: they shall fall downe before thee, and make supplication vnto thee. For who knoweth not, that though Magistrates are to keepe their ciuill power aboue all persones, yet they come vnder the censure of the Church, if they be Christians, and are openlie to humble them selues in vnfained repentance, when they haue openlie and grievouslie trespassed. They are in deede to keepe their Royal dignitie, yet keeping that they are to abase them selues vnto God before the face of the Church. For all powers shall serue and obeye Christ, saith the Prophete [Isa. 60.]: and that kingdome and nation which will not also serue his Church (for so is the text) shall perishe, and the Nation shall be vtterlie destroyed. And the daughters of Tyrus, saith the Psalmist [Psal. 47.], with the riche of the people, shall do homage before thy face with presentes. And further it is writtē in Isai. Euerie tounge that shal rise against thee in iudgement, shalt thou condemne, this is the heritage of the Lords seruantes, and their righteousnes is of me, saith the Lorde [Isa. 54.]. But all this would the aduersaries shift of, with this answer, that concerning outwarde policie we must tarie for the Magistrate: See howe they grope for the wall, as menne without eyes. For when wee speake of spirituall power and authoritie in the Church, doo we speake of ciuile policie, trowe ye? So then they condemne them selues least wee should doo it, that the spirituall power and Ecclesiasticall reformation, must proceede without tarying, but to redress things ciuile, the ciuile Magistrate must meddle, and none is to take his authoritie from him. For we knowe that when Magistrates haue bin most of all against the

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Church and the authoritie thereof, the Church hath most florished. Woe to you therefore ye blinde Preachers and hypocrites: for ye spreade a vaile of darkenes vpon the people, and bring vpon them a cursed couering, because by your policie you hide them vnder the power of Antichrist, and keepe from their eyes the kingdome of Christe. The Lordes kingdome must waite on your policie forsooth, and his Church muste bee framed to your ciuill state, to supplie the wantes thereof: and so will ye chaunge the Lordes gouernement, and put your deuises in stead thereof: but his shalbe alwayes the same, when yours shall chaunge with your wittes, his lawes shall alwayes abyde whē yours shal turne in your hoodes, his hath the same offices, but yours haue newe and renewed offices [Ex. 25. 29, 40., Mat. 28. 20., 1 Tim. 6. 13.]. Goe to therefore, and the outwarde power and ciuil forcings, let vs leaue to the Magistrates: to rule the common wealth in all outwarde iustice, belongeth to them: but let the Church rule in spirituall wise, and not in worldlie maner: by a liuelie lawe preached, and not by a ciuill lawe written: by holinesse in inwarde and outwarde obedience, and not in straightnesse of the outward onelie. But these handsome Prelates, would haue the Mase and the Scepter in their handes, and then hauing safetie and assurance by a lawe on their sides, they would make a goodlie reformation.

Beholde the Lorde hath seene this their villanie, and he hath made them despised and vile in the sight of the people. They haue refused knowledge, and the Lorde hath refused them, they shall beare no more the name of his message.

*Of their wicked aunswere, that they can not remedie things, and therefore they will tollerate.*

Beholde, the Lorde hath cast dunge on their faces, euen the dunge of their solemne feastes [Mala. 2.], as of their Christmasse, and Easter, and Whitsuntide, and of all their traditions, receyued from Baal. For in their solemne meetings, then doeth their iniquitie most woefullie appeare. And they haue said plainlie (as in the days of Malachie) [Mala. 1.] the table of the Lorde is not to be regarded. For though hogges and Dogges come thereto, yet who can redresse it: or why should the Communion be counted polluted vnto vs? Thus they pollute my name saieth the Lorde, and yet they say Wherein haue we polluted thy name? In that ye suffer such wickednesse amongst you, saieth the Lorde, and say also that it is sufferable, and can no way be remedied. O goodlie teachers, which eate vp the sinne of the people, and deuoure seelie soules whyle they wil tollerate forsooth: For by tolleration, they make vnlawfull things lawfull: and by a protestation they iustifie all iniquitie. In deede they be euill say they, but yee must beare with them, for there is no remedie. So not onelie they practise and vse them them selues, and drawe on others by their wicked example, but also commaunde and teache all men the like, yea hate and persecute all those which stande not with them. O notable Protestantes, which both witnesse euil & do the same., Darkenes hath certainlie couered vs, and grosse

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darkenesse hath filled vs, that we could not hitherto espie this great folle. For no wickednesse is tollerable, except for the hardnes of mennes hartes, we yelde them vp to their wickednesse. For the Lordes way sayeth the Scripture [Isa. 35.], is holy, and no polluted shall passe by it. And againe it is writen [Isa. 60.], That the Lordes people (he speaketh of the Church) shal be all righteous, that is, no open wickednesse shal so shew it selfe in the Church, that it shoulde be incurable. For either the parties which offende, shalbe separate, or else they shalbe reclaymed by due admonition. And therefore the Church is called the house of the liuing God, the pillar and ground of trueth [1. Tim. 3.]. For by the due order therein, Religion and holinesse is vphelde, and all heresies, euill maners, and wicked examples put away. If then anie open wickednesse must needes be suffered, it is suffered in those which are none of the church: as it is written [1. Cor. 5.], What haue I to doo to iudge them which are without, doe yee not iudge them which are within? for God indgeth them which are without. Knowe ye not (saeth the Scripture) that a little leauen leaueneth the whole lump. Howe then shall we suffer but a little wickednesse, whiche indeede is not little if it can not be remedied. Yea Paule [1. Cor. 7.] would not bee brought into bondage of the least thing that is, and it is horrible iniquitie to be seruauntes to men, that is, when we are bought for so great a price to glorifie God as his free men, that we should be made seruauntes to menne to suffer their wickednesse. Goe to therefore yee tolerating Preachers, this you get by your tolerating, to haue no name amonge the righteous, nor to be of the bodie of the Church. For Ierusalem is called a citie of trueth, and the mountaine of the Lorde, the holie mountaine [Zacha. 8.]. But ye are vnholie, in that ye saye, some pollutions can not bee clensed away, but muste needes be suffered among you. And this is a certaine trueth, that where anie open disorder is incurable, there is not the Lords Zion, to the which he is turned to dwell therein: that is, they are not the Lordes Church, ouer whom he doeth raigue to shewe his kingdome and gouernement. For the Lordes kingdome is not as mannes, and his rule in his Church is not the rule of man. Man is not able to reforme al things, and in the common wealthes manie thinges are suffered. But in the Church, though hypocrites which are called the tares, can not bee rooted out, yet no open disorder shall so spreade it selfe, that it can not be remedied. Else should not the Church be called the pillar and ground of trueth, the Lordes resting place, his holie habitation, his kingdome and glorious renowne. Therefore doth Paule call [1. Cor. 5.] that part of church gouernement, which is to separate the vngodlie, the power of our Lorde Iesus Christ. For thereby are the Kings bounde with chaines, and the Nobles with fetters of yron [Psal. 149.], that they may execute vpon them, the indgement that is written, Such honor bee to all his Saintes. And in deede this is a great honour we haue, as Paule sayeth [2. Cor. 10.], that though we walke in the fleshe, yet we warre not after the fleshe. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnall, but mightie through God, to caste downe

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shoulde, casting downe the imaginations, and euerie high thing, that is  
 exalted against the knowledge of God, & bringing into captiuitie euerie  
 thought to the obedience of Christ. So then there is nothing which the  
 Lorde will not breake, if it be against his glorie, neither anie wickednes  
 which the gouernement of his Church is not able to put downe. For  
 the Scepter of Christ is a right Scepter [Psal. 45.], hee will keepe in  
 awe his people in this life, and put aparte from the vnrule: he shall be  
 Iudge among the Heathen, and fill all with dead bodies, and smite the  
 heades ouer great Countries [Psal. 110.], and after this life he hath  
 made readie the last vengeance against all disobedience, when the  
 obedience of his people is fulfilled. Howe then dare these menne teache  
 vs, that anie euill thing is tolerable in the Church, as though the  
 church gouernement could not remedie it: yea and so  
 tolerable, that all men should be brought into bondage  
 thereby: yea into so foolishe bondage that they  
 should protest a thing to be euill, and  
 so thinke they are excused to  
 practise the same.

*Robt Brown.*

*Autograph from the Parish records at Achurch.*

**FRED. S. THACKER,**  
**3 Dyers' Buildings, London.**









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